UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

Child Guidance and Family Life in the Soviet Program
by Miriam Ziony

Back to Democracy
- - - - - - *John J. Meng*

Present Trend in World Politics
- - - - - *Taraknath Das*

The Cure of Disillusionment
- - - - - *John Haynes Holmes*

Trumpets on New Horizons

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The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

Peace Heroes

The fourteenth Annual Service of Remembrance for Peace Heroes and Heroines was held under the auspices of the Peace Heroes Memorial Society in the Walnut Hills Cemetery, Cincinnati, Ohio, on last Memorial Day.

The graves decorated were those of two policemen, a detective, a highway maintenance foreman, a social worker, a mother who died in childbirth, a fireman, a railroader, and a factory worker, all of whom lost their lives in the service of the common weal. At the Service Bishop Paul Jones, President of the Peace Heroes Memorial Society, presided. The address of the occasion, by the Reverend Joseph F. Fletcher, Acting Rector of St. Paul's Cathedral, follows:

At these exercises, on Memorial Day, eight years ago, Alva Taylor began his oration with the remark that "Death is dramatic." Death, the spectre that visits us all, is always a drama; it is, indeed, the final act that lends meaning and value to life. But whereas sometimes it is genuine drama, marking an end to the services of true heroes, it may at other times be but cheap and gaudy theatre, passing muster with the simple heart that thrills to martial excitement but failing to win the worship of those who have eyes to see.

There are heroes and heroes. We share the nation's desire to pay respect to those who counted something of greater worth than their own self-preservation. We do not, perhaps, have in mind exactly the same heroic virtues. For us there is greater honor due the memory of Louis Pasteur's labors in his laboratory than of Hiram Maxim's. In much the same spirit, but with a vastly different vision, we make our observance of Memorial Day along with thousands whose exercises are cast in the mould of national mythology and the glorification of sacrifice on fields of battle.

But does death which is sacrifice—perhaps mass-sacrifice and mechanically impersonal — does death of that kind make heroes?

(*Continued on page* 160)

UNITY

"He Hath Made of One All Nations of Men"

Volume CXVII MONDAY, JUNE 15, 1936 No. 8

EVOLUTIONARY HYMN*

Rejoice, O sons of men, rejoice!
To you is given the saving choice
To bid man's years of darkness flee,
And welcome Wisdom's sovereignty.

The force which ruled primeval Night,
And brought from Chaos life and light,
Within each human spirit reigns,
And urges, strengthens, and sustains.

Look up, O Man, and grasp thy power!
Encompass thy transcendent dower!
Whatever ills of earth appall,
Thy will and love can conquer all.

Thy strength is one with coursing suns
Where still evolving impulse runs:
Lift heart and hand, lift arm and voice,
Till all mankind shall chant, "Rejoice!"

James H. West.

SOCIALISM—AMERICAN AND EUROPEAN

At the very time when Socialism in Europe is rising to formidable heights of influence and power, American Socialism has gone to pieces. The rift so unnecessarily cut in the fabric of the Party at the famous Detroit Convention widened into a complete split at the recent Cleveland Convention, and the Party goes into the forthcoming presidential campaign with prospects of the smallest vote received in years. In spite of Norman Thomas' outstanding ability and undoubted consecration, it will probably be the destiny of American Socialism either to be absorbed into some liberal third party of the Farmer-Labor variety, or else to be ground to pieces between the upper and nether mill-stones of Communism and Fascism. In this sad moment of collapse, it is interesting to see the contrasting scene in Europe. The Marxist movement, in all its phases, has of course been completely extinguished in Italy and Germany, and in the other smaller Fascist countries. But in Spain, after turbulent years, Socialism seems to be in complete control. In France, with the ascendancy of Leon Blum, a real Socialism, in contrast to the fake Radical Socialism of recent years, has captured the seats of power. In Belgium, the venerable Vandervelde has been put into office as the result of the Socialist triumph in the recent election. And in England, a Socialist Labor Party waits to enter upon the inheritance of a crumbling Toryism. All this has an enormous significance, especially when set over against the growing menace of Fascism in all of central Europe. What we see in Europe, it seems to us, are the tightening lines of Fascism on the one side, and of Socialism and Communism on the other, in anticipation of that final duel to the death between Left and Right which must determine the destiny of Europe for at least a hundred years. Perhaps the failure of Fascism in America and the collapse of Socialism mean, at bottom, that democracy, after all, has other and less desperate ways of working out the problems of the hour.

DR. TOWNSEND DEFIES THE LIGHTNING

We have never had any use for the Townsend movement, and do not now. But we have always thought Dr. Townsend a simple and sincere man, and now we think him a brave man. His defiance of the Congressional investigation committee took courage, and was most emphatically the right gesture at the right time. What the Congress was doing was more disreputable than anything ever charged against the good Doctor himself. Look at the situation! The Congressmen were scared stiff over a movement which was mustering millions of voters and thus threatening their political lives. They could do two things in opposition to the movement—either expose its fallacies and delusions and dangers by marshalling facts and presenting arguments, or else "smear" the Doctor and his associates and thus discredit the movement in the eyes of its followers. Not having the brains or the valor to take the first course, these Congressmen chose the second, and started out to find "dirt" at any cost. What they found was so insignificant as to be ridiculous. That an amateur movement of enormous proportions, organized over-night, so to

*"This may be the final offering I may be able to make to my beloved periodical after something more than half a century of making melody for it. I shall be pleased if you can find it worthy, to stand at the head of the Editorial Page where Mr. Jones usually placed most of my contributions."—J. H. W.
Amen!—but not, we trust, the final offering.—Editors.

speak, involved much waste and extravagance, that it did a lot of rather rough and ready boosting, that it attracted into its service some charlatans and crooks, the kind of hand-to-mouth gentry who attach themselves to every successful political undertaking—this was inevitable. But that there was any deliberate fraud, imposture, and theft is absurd. Imagine what would be found if the Congressmen had turned their inquiry against the American Legion in its bonus activities, or the Republican and Democratic party machines in any election! And why aren't such inquiries made? Why were the Townsendites alone selected for investigation? Dr. Townsend's challenge on this point was pertinent, and, of course, unanswered. When the Doctor gathered up his books and papers and "walked out" on the cheap Congressional gangsters in Washington, he did the one thing called for by the situation, and showed up his enemies in a way which has left them helpless and more afraid than ever. We hope that the Townsend movement may soon disappear—but before the attack of public intelligence and not of political terrorism.

THE AMERICANISM OF THE BLACK LEGION

Dorothy Thompson, shocked by the discovery of the secret horrors of the Black Legion, declares that her husband was right and it *can* happen over here! But we find it rather far-fetched, to say the least, to hitch up this phenomenon of violence and hate with the German Nazis. The very word "Legion," for example, suggests that what we have here is only a logical if utterly moronic extension of American Legion activities. The silly and selfish playing of the Legionnaires has suddenly become dreadfully serious, that is all. Another resemblance is clearly seen in the elaborate and feebly juvenile ritual of this black brotherhood, which carries us straight into the lodge rooms of a dozen secret orders. The blood threats and death oaths and satanic adjurations are nothing more nor less than horrific transformations of the wholly innocent but also wholly infantile pomposities of fraternities galore in this country. But, of course, the real progenitor of the Black Legion is the Ku Klux Klan, as witness the hoods, the night riding, the whips and ropes, and all the rest of the stupid yet infinitely dangerous paraphernalia of this upsurgence of American bigotry and lust. No need to go to Germany or any other distant place to understand what's going on! This latest expression of organized criminality is native in its origin, native in its character, native in its methods and purposes. It is the under-side of this country suddenly turned up to reveal the writhing vermin which we breed. It is terrifying to recall that the members of this Black Legion are all of them ordinary American citizens, just such men as you would meet anywhere in this broad land. It is still more terrifying to remember that these black-hooded gangsters were all educated in our American public schools, and thus are products of our boasted system of education. It is perhaps most terrifying of all to be reminded that these men are Protestants, basing their hatred of Jews, Catholics and Negroes on their loyalty to the Christ they became acquainted with in church and Sunday school. No, brethren, we can't dodge this responsibility. The Black Legion is the plant of our sowing, the child of our breeding. What's the matter with America that such things can be?

PENITENCE FOR SIN!

No spiritual action is more difficult and therefore nobler than that of penitence. The American Unitarian Association took such action at its recent annual meeting in Boston, and thus expunged a stain upon its record and restored the lost honor of its faith. On April 19, 1918, when the War excitement was at its height, the Board of Directors of the Association passed a resolution, that

". . . any society which employs a minister who is not a willing, earnest, and outspoken supporter of the United States in the vigorous prosecution of the war cannot be considered eligible for aid from the Association."

In passing this resolution, the Directors of the Association struck at every church which they could reach—it was not their fault that they had no control of any churches but the aided churches! Their action, of course, was a betrayal of that sacred principle of dissent, so basic to all liberal religion. It was a denial of freedom, an attempt at coercion of that most precious of all human rights—the right of private judgment. Above all, it was a desertion of—nay, rather a cruel attack upon—a little group of hard-pressed ministers striving desperately to maintain the ideal of peace against overwhelming odds. That Unitarians should have joined the pack of patriotic wolves who raged and ravined in America in war-time seems today incredible, but they did—and some of the braver and truer spirits among them have been trying ever since to confess sin, right wrong, and offer penitence. At last, eighteen years after the offense, at this recent annual meeting the saving action was taken. In a motion entitled, "A Resolution to Safeguard Integrity of the Individual," the Association declared by an overwhelming vote that

". . . it regrets the action of the Board as contrary to the fundamental Unitarian principle of freedom of thought and conscience, and insists that never in the future shall the economic power of the organization be used to influence the opinion or conduct of any minister or society."

Some may interpret this noble action as due to the changed spirit of the times. We prefer to interpret it as the true spirit of Unitarianism coming to itself again.

HENRY W. PINKHAM—AVE!

There is a personal side to the action of the American Unitarian Association, as above recorded, which touches the heart with joy. Central in the whole story is one figure—that of Henry W. Pinkham, clear-headed and brave-hearted pacifist, who lost his pulpit in Melrose, Massachusetts, in 1918, because of his unfaltering fidelity to the idealism of peace. He did not believe in war, which he described in the unforgettable phrase, "collective homicide," and he refused to compromise even for the sake of bread for his family. He had stood the test before in his earlier theological experience in the Baptist ministry, and now stood it again amid circumstances of blood and fire. It might have been supposed that, after such disaster, Mr. Pinkham would abandon his cause in disgust. But not so! There was a principle here—first, of pacifism as the concrete expression of the peace ideal, and, second, of the right of individual judgment as basic to Americanism, and to Unitarianism as a religious expression of Americanism. Mr. Pinkham refused to abandon the Unitarian church to its own mad courses, and set himself to retrieve the error. He could not save himself, but he could save the cause—and to this, through all these lonely, cheerless years, he has given his very life! In season and out, with individuals and at public meetings, by the written and the spoken word, often amid jeers, insults and bitter hatred, he has carried on this work for vindication. A hero in temper, a martyr in spirit, with never a word of complaint or reproach, he has trod his Via Dolorosa—and now, thank God, it has led not to Calvary, but to triumph. In this year, 1936, the long-awaited resolution of retraction and repentance was passed, and the action was crowned with an ovation to Henry W. Pinkham which must have brought balm to his wounds. We rejoice that this noble man and true Christian, and best Unitarian of them all, lived to see this day. It recalls the immortal words of Theodore Parker—"The arc of the moral universe is long, but it bends toward justice."

NORMAN HAPGOOD, RELIGIOUS EDITOR

The announcement that Norman Hapgood has been elected Editor of the *Christian Register* is an event of first-class importance in the field of religious journalism. Indeed, it is almost sensational. It breaks precedents and establishes new standards. Hitherto, it has been taken for granted that a religious paper should be edited by a clergyman, just as it used to be assumed that a college or university should have a clergyman for president. The latter custom was broken when Charles William Eliot was made President of Harvard and Daniel Coit Gilman, President of Johns Hopkins. If the former custom has been broken, we are not aware of it—so far as we can seem to recall, our religious papers have all to date been run by men trained to the ministry. But whether or no, this appointment of Norman Hapgood is a "smash" that marks definitely the end of a venerable habit. Mr. Hapgood is a man of distinction in fields of wide activity. A critic and student of the drama and the friend of actors, a political leader who has known and influenced many of the most important statesmen of his day, an author of fine and varied achievement, and editor of such great journals as *Collier's Weekly* and *Harper's Weekly,* he would seem to be interested and active in everything except religion. But such a suspicion would be a mistake, for Mr. Hapgood has always been an active churchgoer and church-attendant, a friend and associate of ministers, and a sympathetic and trained observer of religious affairs. One of the most eminent liberals of the age, Mr. Hapgood is peculiarly fitted to edit a Unitarian journal at a moment in the world's history when the liberal religious spirit must function in terms of thought and prophecy in every area of human existence. Norman Hapgood knows the life of this nation and of other nations. He has the liberal outlook and knows the liberal tradition. He is radical in his utter devotion to ideals of liberty and brotherhood. He is seasoned in wisdom, and still youthful in courage and vision. It is going to be exciting to see what Mr. Hapgood will do with the *Christian Register* when he takes his seat in the editorial chair on August 1st next.

Jottings

A few weeks ago, the *New Yorker* published an amusing picture showing a railroad crossing guard signaling "Stop" to trains while automobiles went speeding by. A few days ago, an automobilist in Englewood, N. J., saw a "Stop" sign at a crossing, assumed it was intended for the train, and went dashing ahead into a fatal collision. Thus does life imitate art!

It is universally assumed that the action of the Louisiana court holding a sheriff in damages for the lynching of a Negro, taken from his custody, will help to stop lynching. The sheriff will do, in other words, to save his property, what he has hitherto not done to save life. Thus is property again exalted as the central factor in our society!

The demagogues and witch-doctors are one by one disappearing. Huey Long is dead, and all but forgotten; Dr. Townsend is on the run to oblivion; and Father Coughlin has recently announced that he has decided to take no hand in presidential elections until 1940. By the time 1940 comes 'round, people will be saying, "Coughlin? *Coughlin??* O, yes—he was that fool Congressman from Seattle who got drunk, and married, and broke the speed laws!"

England, France, Italy once again pass up their debts to the United States! Wouldn't it be lovely if individuals could borrow money, and promise to pay, and then *not* pay, and nothing happen? But then, there are morals as well as laws in individual lives, but with governments?—anything is right you can get away with!

If the Germans had won the War and had taken tribute from this country to the tune of a billion dollars or more, they would have been denounced to the end of time as the modern Vandals. Now our Legion bonus-grabbers are doing exactly this same thing, robbing the United States treasury in their own interest, and they still pretend to be patriots!

Up in Alberta, Canada, the famous Social Credit Premier promised the people a government payment of $25 per month. Instead of getting this, the people got a sales tax! In this country, President Roosevelt promised a 25 per cent reduction in government expenditures and a balanced budget. Instead of this, he has given us the largest national debt in the history of the nation ($32,000,000,000), and no end in sight. And we still believe what politicians say! J. H. H.

Child Guidance and Family Life in the Soviet Program

MIRIAM ZIONY

Recent newspaper reports give the impression that the Soviet government has suddenly realized the error of its ways and, as symbolized in its present sponsorship of the old-fashioned family kitchen rather than the communal method of cooking and eating, and in the publicity being given to intimate and affectional portrayals of Stalin, is starting a back-to-the-family-and-home campaign.

In reality, the development of a better family life has been an integral part of the Russian program, even though the first Five-Year Plans have been devoted primarily to the building up of the industrial machinery and the mastering of industrial techniques, to the organization of farm collectives and better housing, to the liquidation of illiteracy and to the creation of a universal system of education.

Professor S. T. Shatsky, one of the leaders in experimental education in Russia, writing in 1925 on the subject of Parent Education, stated that "an interrelation must be established between the school, the home, the family, and the neighborhood with its organizations and institutions" and a "well ordered family life for the child must be carried out through the supervision of the school."

Modern psychological findings indicate that behavior problems often have their beginnings in early childhood. On the basis of such findings, in Soviet Russia, child guidance and parent education in the physical, mental, and emotional understanding of the child start even before its existence. At the Marriage Bureau where the future parents register their intentions to live together, they are greeted with an array of signs and slogans pertaining to better family relationships. "Men and women—it is your moral duty to go to a doctor before you get married"; "Get well first and raise a healthy family"; "Mother's milk is best for the child" are some of the poster headings. Large, attractive pictures show how to prevent the spread of tuberculosis through the use of individual towels and dishes, through proper diet, fresh air, etc. Various statistical charts and graphs were at one time displayed to show the causes of extra-marital relations and the breaking up of the home, such as: absence of husband or wife, desire for variety, inhibition, drunkenness, and so on. Contagious disease, nervous derangement, sexual perversion have been indicated as reasons for refusal of the marriage license by the state.

Since there is no such thing as an "illegitimate" child in Soviet Russia, the mental and emotional disturbance, resulting from social ostracism or stigma for children born out of wedlock, as well as for their mothers, is to a large extent eliminated. Parents are encouraged to register at the Marriage Bureau after the child's birth if they have not done so previously. Immorality and promiscuity are, however, not condoned under Communism. Party disapproval and appeal to the need for conservation of one's energies for the good of society and the state take the place of religious tenets and prohibitions in the regulation of sex relationships and attitudes. Parents, whether legally married or not, are by law held responsible for the support of their children.

Through the cooperative efforts of such agencies as the Commissariat of Public Health, the Commissariat of Education, the Institute for the Protection of Mother and Child, many laboratories, hospitals, and clinics have

been set up to provide for the people's welfare. Prenatal care and information are furnished by doctors and visiting nurses in the homes and at public clinics. As is already well known, working mothers are given free hospital and medical care during childbirth and two months' leave of absence from work before and after childbirth, with full pay.

A realization of the worth of child guidance and mental hygiene and the necessity of promoting parental understanding has resulted in a continued extension and expansion of local and nation-wide parent education programs in the U.S.S.R. Conscious planning and government aid have made possible the establishment of thousands of parents' associations, consultation centers, and study groups in connection with nursery schools alone, to which workers in factories and offices and on the farms send their small children during working hours.

These centers are found not only in the large cities but in small, out-of-the-way towns and hamlets as well. Elementary, secondary, and polytechnical schools also have their child-study groups whose activities and programs are directed and stimulated by means of such devices as "methodical" letters, pamphlets and lesson plans, libraries, radio broadcasts, regional conferences, and traveling exhibits sent out through the Commissariats of Health and Education in cooperation with schools and nurseries, hospitals and clinics, research institutes and experimental laboratories.

"Pedological, pedagogical propaganda," as parent education is called in the Soviet Union, is a combination of political, economic, cultural, physical, and psychological education and propaganda carried on for the purpose of creating a better understanding of child nature as well as a Communist class consciousness. Factories, farms, workers' clubs, playgrounds and "children's villages" in the public parks, even the "labor colonies" where persons who have been convicted of civil and criminal offenses are confined, have their parent meetings and consultations.

If there is to be parent education there should be provision for the preparation of qualified persons to conduct such education, according to Communist logic. A special section of the State Moscow University is therefore devoted to the training of professional parent educators and pedologists during a four-year course, at the end of which a diploma is awarded. There are also circles to prepare "pedagogical propagandists" to work with parents, separate institutes for qualifying workers in the parent-teaching field in a period of eight months, and a six-month course for pedagogues and semi-lay leaders to work with parents and children.

Local organizations are encouraged in the development of their own speakers and leaders, although many groups apply to Moscow for assistance. The pedologist plays an important role in child guidance by means of individual consultations with problem children in the schools and by taking an active part in meetings and program arrangements for parents. Not all the schools have pedologists as yet because of the shortage of trained psychiatric workers.

At the Shatsky Center in Moscow, a private experimental education bureau before the Revolution and now known as the First Experimental Station on Public Education of the People's Commissariat of Education, a great deal of work with parents has been initiated. As the result of parents' dissatisfaction with the conduct of school work, a parents' conference on school methods was first organized several years ago under the chairmanship of Professor Shatsky. Conferences were, however, found inadequate and "teachers were obliged to study life in the family with the aim of understanding and introducing improvements and changes in the lives of the children."

At the Model schools of Rezan and Ivanova, two small villages near Moscow, there are also Model schools for parents under the direction of Professor Shatsky. Teachers are trained to organize groups, conduct meetings, prepare reports and study material and work with "children's commissions" which are groups of children chosen to help parents carry out what they are taught.

According to a pamphlet report of the aims, procedures, and achievements in parent education in polytechnical schools in Leningrad, a great deal of activity and rapid progress in that city is indicated.*

"In February, 1932, a Post for the Care of Childhood was organized—especially for children who disturb discipline," says the Leningrad report. The same year, the Central Committee of the Communist Party "adopted concrete steps for the reorganization of the school program" so as to include on a wide scale pedagogical, pedological propaganda for parents, as well as to establish greater coordination between the activities of home and school and factory.

Scientific understanding of child adjustment is stimulated through the organization of:

Lectures, reports and discussions.
Question and answer evenings.
Individual and collective consultations.
Small study circles.
"Patronage" system of home visits.
Excursions and exhibitions.
Motion picture and radio programs.

Pedologists, teachers, physicians, librarians, industrial representatives and parents are enlisted in the work.

Reports and lectures are considered "a basic form of mass work with parents." Every school in Leningrad employed this method at parent meetings in 1931-32 on the basis "particularly of the latest circulars and rules issued through the Commissariats of Health and Education and the Communist Party regarding the question of child care." It is advised that "these reports must be factual, actual and close to life." "They must be linked to the actual conditions the Soviet faces and must be based on the study of everyday questions, needs and interests of both child and adult population."

Question and answer evenings are considered by the authors of the Leningrad survey a very valuable way of arousing parental interest but groups are cautioned not to use this method too often as a "prepared theme is best." Parents are encouraged to take an active part in formulating and answering questions on the basis of their own practical experience as well as on scientific theory.

Individual consultations with parents of children who presented behavior difficulties were held in sixty schools in Leningrad, in 1932. Special consultation rooms, sometimes the doctor's room, are provided. An analysis is made of the physical, educational, emotional and family history of the child, and home and school adjustments are recommended if necessary. The doctor, pedologist, or teacher in charge, is held responsible for carrying out any changes advised. Wall newspapers, exhibits and literature form part of the educational material used at consultations. While the parent is oc-

*A. Gelina, T. Dunayeva, and A. Zhilina, *Pedological-Pedagogical Propaganda in the Polytechnical School*, Leningrad, 1933. (Russian text.)

cupied with the consultant, the child may play with toys or read literature provided for it at one side of the room or in an adjoining room. Prescribed treatment may involve visits to the home, cooperation of "productive and industrial organizations to give material aid for improvement of the cultural or physical welfare" of the child or the family as a whole, referral to clinics, court aid, organization of extra-curricular work for the child, transfer to a different class or a different type of school, or even changes in curriculum. Cooperation with organizations like the Pioneers, the society called Friends of the Children, and other groups, is frequent.

Collective consultations are made up of ten to fifteen members who have attended individual consultations. In these small study groups "lively discussions" are carried on among the parents regarding the problems arising in the individual consultations. "Parents share their experiences with each other, discuss how they carry out advice given at consultations and compare results obtained." It is stated that this method has been found very satisfactory.

Small study circles for parents who do not take part in individual consultations are also held and are considered superior to the large general meetings because a more intimate relationship can be established between the parents and the child-guidance worker.

The "Patronage" (pronounced as in French) is still another method by which parent-child relationships are improved in Russia. Problem children are put under the care of a "patronage commission" of parents who make regular home visits and prescribe treatment under supervision of the physician or the pedologist. One school in Leningrad, in which eight parents investigated and supervised sixty-five families, is mentioned as having particular success with this type of undertaking.

Radio and motion pictures are also being utilized in the work with parents. Through the Leningrad radio center, for instance, regular twenty-minute programs were broadcast three times a month during the year 1932 on such topics as:

Communist Education.
For a Healthy Young Generation.
Extra-curricular Work.
Organization of Leisure for the Child in the Family.
Ways of Influencing the Child—Educate, Do not Beat Him.
Anti-Religious Education.
International Education.
Peculiarities of the Child of the Pre-School Stage.
Problem Children.
Improvement of School Work.
Better Education and Better Health in Pioneer Camps.
Infectious Diseases.

A special section of the government-owned motion picture industry is devoted to the production of child-study films which are loaned to parent groups. Although only a beginning has as yet been made in this direction, a number of such films have already been produced, some in story form, for the purpose of changing attitudes toward children. Among these are:

The Road to Life.
The Fourth Generation.
The Forest School.
A Little Village.
The Pioneers.
Big Ones and Little Ones.
The Flea.
In Each Home. (Agitation for a better life.)
The Last Insult. (How to treat a child.)
Beating is Forbidden.
The Sleeveless Children.
Lenin's Address.
The Development of the Intellect of the Child.

Handicaps found in American parent-education work in the form of inadequate meeting places, illiteracy or language difficulties among parents are to a great extent eliminated under the Soviet system of educational planning on a nation-wide and all-inclusive basis for adults as well as for children.

Large assembly halls and also small study rooms equipped with reading and writing facilities for small round-table discussions are to be found in kindergarten and nursery schools, in factory club-houses, in trade union headquarters, in apartment houses, on collective and state farms, and in "parks of culture and rest." Outlying districts are urged by the Commissariat of Education to provide special rooms for parents' meetings.

Books, circulars, charts and attractively illustrated posters, wall newspapers written often by the parents on topics discussed, permanent or traveling exhibits on child care, lantern slides, etc., form part of the equipment of such rooms.

Conflicts between working hour schedules and parent association or child-study meetings are obviated to a high degree in Russia by the close cooperation and interrelation of occupational and educational activities. In the case of the nursery school especially, which often forms part of the farm or factory "combinat," meetings can be planned after work and the same facilities that are used to take care of the child while the mother is busy at her job are at her service while she is learning how to bring up the future Soviet citizen according to modern scientific techniques.

The Commissariat of Education advises parent associations to state on their invitations and announcements of meetings just what facilities are available for the care of small children while the meeting is being held. Sometimes the association itself assigns a teacher or one of the parents to supervise in an adjoining playroom the children for whom there are no other means of care.

Another problem, that of educating in the same group parents of diverse intellectual and educational levels, although not entirely eliminated, is partly solved in Russian nursery school parent organizations particularly, because of the occupational grouping plan, whereby factory workers have their own particular nursery and parent-guidance facilities; farm or office workers have theirs; and married university students and professors in their university nursery groups are able to discuss and comprehend the subject of mental hygiene and parent-child relationships on a more technical basis than the less highly educated individuals who may only recently, perhaps, have learned to read and write.

In Russia's new type of penal institution where criminals are regenerated through the latest mental hygiene techniques instead of through punishment, and where the opportunity to live a wholesome family life is part of the cure in the overcoming of anti-social traits, parent education is also included.

The former G.P.U. Labor Colony at Luberte near Moscow, at the time of the writer's visit in 1933, had on display in the parents' meeting room a number of colorful posters and signs pertaining to child care. General meetings of about one hundred parents are held there twice a month under the direction of the colony pedologist, in addition to individual consultations between the mothers and the pedologist. Literature is provided through the Institute for the Protection of Mother and Child. According to one of the kindergarten teachers interviewed, library books and pam-

phlets at this colony are not loaned for home use but must be read on the premises as a protection against the spread of disease.

Under the national plan for the liquidation of illiteracy, it is claimed that millions of Russians have during the last few years learned to read and write. Trained workers and volunteers have been mobilized in the task of educating the older folks who had previously had no opportunity to go to school. There is even a peasant newspaper containing news on all important questions of the day, written in very simple language for those who are just learning to read.

In the field of parent education, too, the government publishes material that is suitable for people with little book learning.

The problem which one finds in the United States where members of various national and racial groups attend meetings but sometimes cannot understand what is being said because they do not know any English, or where they stay away altogether because of this difficulty, is likewise largely non-existent in the U.S.S.R. because of the fact that national minority groups are taught in their own languages.

Books, magazines, and newspapers are printed in over one hundred different tongues, and the development of native customs, cultures, and literatures (with the exception of religious customs) is steadily encouraged. For some of the groups that in the days of the Czar had only a spoken dialect, the government has published written word forms on a Latinized alphabet. These more primitive peoples are now for the first time being initiated into the magic of communication by means of written and printed symbols.

As already indicated, a variety of circulars, lesson plans, leaflets, pamphlets, and large books are compiled, published, and distributed, through the Commissariat of Education and allied bureaus interested in the public welfare and in child-health and protection, to all parts of the Soviet Union. Of special value are the many cheap pamphlets written in simple, non-technical language for parents who have not had much education.

To illustrate the method used by the Russian government to popularize and advertise information through the printed word, several booklets obtained by the writer and translated for her from the Russian language upon her return to the United States are here briefly described and summarized.

One booklet of eight pages entitled *Concerning Books for the Child of Pre-School Age* by E. Shabad and issued by the One Kopek Library in "The Approach to the Pre-School Age Series," contains suggestions for parents on books for children of pre-school age. "It is essential to know which books are best—a bad book is like an ill-fitting dress"; "through the medium of books it is possible to direct the mind of the child and to teach him about the good and the beautiful"; "use books with pictures for children"; "it is essential that the child finds books entertaining"; are some of the introductory remarks in this pamphlet. Then follows an enumeration of books recommended for the pre-school child at various levels of development—books that will stimulate habits of order and cleanliness, published by the Medical Publishing House; books listed for the very youngest children and bearing such titles as: *Kitchen, Setting the Table, Riding on a Machine, Playthings, On the Street,* the last named being a book "which gives information on things children ask about." For the stage when the child becomes interested in animals, it is explained there are books on "animal children—with pictures and verses." As the child's interests and experience widen there are books like *About the Kindergarten;* books about wild animals; *Little Brother,* a book for the stage at which the child becomes interested in other countries; longer stories about nature, and books about machinery; popular science books on gardening, breadmaking, locomotives," etc. "If you do not know what books to select, ask your dealer or buy a catalogue," is the final injunction. Thirty-five thousand copies of this particular booklet were printed in one issue in 1930.

Two somewhat larger pamphlets by the same author are published in the Popular Library Series to Aid in the Education of the Child of Pre-School Age in the Family, under the auspices of the Commissariat of Education, and sell for ten kopeks each. Of these, *How to Educate Children from 3 to 8 years,* a sixteen-page booklet, issued in 1927, in an edition of 35,000 copies, calls attention of parents to the importance of right parental attitudes towards the child from the time it is born. Says the author:

> In this little book we wish to tell parents and others who educate children just what it means to bring up a child and when it should be done. Usually people think this begins with the school and that it is the job of the school. The school is often criticised when the child does not turn out right. Bringing up a child begins in the earliest moments of its life and it is most dependent upon those with whom it lives—its parents. If you begin to educate the child a month after it is born it is a month too late.

The need for patience on the part of the parent, especially when the child begins to ask questions; the value of creative activity and association with other children; the dangers involved in beating the child are briefly and effectively discussed. The concluding remarks in "another word to parents" are as follows: "when raising a calf, a colt or chickens you go to extremes—you order books from the government on how to raise them. Have the same interest in learning how to raise children." The suggestion is then made that parents make use of the educational opportunities furnished by the government.

Booklet No. 13, in the same series was issued in 1928 in a 10,000 copy edition and deals with the subject of *Playthings in the Pre-School Age.* Parents are reminded at the very beginning that "play is the most important business of the child. Just as food and clothing are needed for his body, so play is important for his mental and intellectual growth." They are advised to study the child's interests and the type of activity he engages in and to supply toys along the line of his interest. A play corner or a play drawer for the child's possessions is suggested as a means of stimulating habits of neatness and order. Parents are told to play with their children. Lists of suitable toys for the pre-school child as well as types of playthings for the older children are found in this booklet.

For a Polytechnical Education of the Pre-School Child, booklet No. 22 in the Popular Library Series for Parents, considers the questions of polytechnical education for the young child. In accordance with Soviet ideology that the citizens of the Communist state and the future classless society "must hate exploitation" and subservience of one class to another as under Capitalism where "some are taught to rule and others are taught to be obedient tools," it is explained to parents that "polytechnical education is a familiarization in theory and practice with all basic industry and practice" so that the child may eventually take a more intelligent part in productive labor. As a means of realizing this

type of education for the pre-school child, the following points are enumerated:

A complete connection and familiarity of the child with the basic industries of his immediate environment.

Utilization of everything which surrounds the child for the purpose of acquainting him with the technique of things such as the telephone, gas, electricity, etc.

Systematic participation of the child in socially useful work having an educational significance and widening his knowledge and experience.

Familiarization of the child with the socialist form of the organization of labor and the application by the child of such organization in his work through social competition, acting as a shock-worker, etc.

Give the labor of children and their play great variety.

As far as possible lend to the equipment of the child's work or play a technical aspect to familiarize him with technical things.

See that the child becomes familiar with planned organization in his work and keeps systematic account of his work.

The value of work or play "done on a collective basis—not just by one child but in a group" as a means of inculcating habits of socialization; interesting the child to "be an assistant to the grownup"; the importance of encouraging and answering children's questions about machinery, inventions, etc., and stimulation of the "inventor mind" are additional points mentioned.

An important part of the booklet is the final section where there are listed various types of suitable toys and working materials for small children, recommended educational games, and the titles as well as the prices and dates of publication of sixty-five books for the pre-school child on different industries and occupations. From the vocational guidance point of view, this last list, which contains such titles as:

Playthings Made from Match Boxes.
They Jump, They Fly.
Playing with Colors and with Light.
We Construct a Motor.
They Construct a Mill.
We Construct a Conveyor.
The Electric Worker.
The Bread Factory.
A Thousand Dresses a Day.
Magnitagorsk.
Moscow Is Building.
Our New Tea Kettle.
Dnieperstroy.
A Meat Factory.
Zeppelin.
In the Wonderful Kitchen.
The Wings of the Soviets.
Aeroplane.

forms a very stimulating introduction both for the child and the parent to the large variety of occupational possibilities.

In line with the now well-known Communist conviction that "religion is the opiate of the people," the anti-religious propaganda being carried on among the populace extends also to the work with parents. One pamphlet on this subject entitled *How to Educate the Child in Atheism*, No. 18 in the Popular Library Series to Aid in the Education of the Child in the Family, combines internationalism, anti-religious education and the "class struggle." Parents are instructed to "give the child an international education and to fight for the class interests of the workers"; to teach the child to live at peace with all nationalities at home"; to make him "understand why the Czar spread hatred among all nationalities—that hatred helps the employers." "The chief enemy of such international education," says the author of the booklet, "is religion. Religion has a way of teaching that those who follow a particular religion are the Chosen People. Religious holidays should be abolished and only Bolshevist holidays celebrated." The concluding summary enumerates the following points:

(1) It is essential to educate the child from his earliest days in an anti-religious spirit as the earliest impressions are most important and since religion is opposed to the Socialist order it can be assumed that a child raised in religion will grow up to be an enemy of the Soviet Republic.

(2) Religious education brings great harm to the physical and mental development of the child.

(3) Parents must use every means on every occasion to enlighten the child about the hostile attitude of religion to the new life being built in Russia.

(4) It is absolutely essential to build up in the child an interest in the surrounding phenomena, social as well as natural, to give him an adequate explanation on all questions and at the same time to keep directing him to find for himself the causes of the things interesting him.

(5) It is essential to drive out from family life the remnants of religious customs and to watch one's speech carefully in order not to bring any contradictions into the life of the child.

Under government sponsorship and guidance the parent education movement in Soviet Russia is developing facilities on a wholesale scale. Yet more significant than this is the fact that parent education is considered by the Russians not as a guaranteed formula that will cure all wrong parental attitudes or a panacea for every personality difficulty within the family, but only as one small part of an integrated program for the attainment of greater physical, mental, and emotional stability through the elimination in the socio-economic structure of those factors which retard and hinder the development of human personality and through the creation and expansion of opportunities for the ultimate adjustment of every individual along educational, vocational, recreational, and cultural lines.

Poverty and unemployment with their attendant evils of malnutrition and dependence upon charity are well recognized by social workers in the western world as potent factors in developing inferiority feelings, delinquent tendencies, or other anti-social traits. In Soviet Russia, while poverty has by no means been abolished and people suffer for lack of basic necessities of food and clothing even more than in capitalistic countries, unemployment and the dread of losing one's job without the prospect of replacement in another one have been almost entirely eliminated.

For the prevention of disorders due to vocational and occupational maladjustment, there is a guidance set-up which includes a study and an awakening of aptitudes and interests in the child through a systematic acquaintance, from the pre-school stage, with the basic industrial and technical functions and modern productive and distributive methods, by means of regular visits to farms and factories and markets, by theoretical study of processes involved in industry, as well as through actual participation in productive work as part of the polytechnical course prescribed for both boys and girls.

With the aid of vocational counselors, changes in courses and schools are made for students who are unhappy or unsuited to the type of course they have chosen.

Facilities for the education or re-education of adults are provided in the form of workers' technicums, universities and professional schools, all under government and cooperative auspices. Students are trained at government expense and in many cases are even paid while learning. After having completed their training they do not have to go through the demoralizing experience of waiting endlessly for work, or eventually being compelled to accept charity or else a job for which they are unprepared or unadapted. With the government as

banker and employer on a limitless scale it becomes possible to supply jobs for which no private capital would be available. What has been called the "social instinct" in mankind is stimulated through an emphasis on co-operation for the common good instead of being thwarted through a competitive struggle for private gain.

Much importance is at present being attached to worthwhile leisure-time activities as an aid to better character building. In the U.S.S.R., with more regard for the cultural and emotional benefits accruing to the people than for possible financial returns, numerous recreational facilities are available for young and old in the form of playgrounds, parks, sport stadia, theatres, concerts, museum exhibits, rest homes and summer camps. Self-expression through amateur dramatics, dancing, singing, and art is widely encouraged for workers and their children.

The active campaigns carried on by the government to change the traditional attitude toward woman as the inferior sex have also doubtless been effective in creating more wholesome personality patterns. As has been very vividly illustrated in an exhibit at the Museum for the Liberation of Woman, in Moscow, the feminine sex in Russia has been placed on an equal footing with the masculine as regards legal, political, and intellectual rights and privileges. In the schools according to various studies made, girls have been found to have the same intellectual capacity as boys and are given the same types of training. Women take part in the same kind of work as men, with a few exceptions made for health reasons. There are women plasterers, bricklayers, mechanics and roadbuilders, women engineers and factory directors, and women representatives in the councils of the Soviets. Marriage and divorce laws apply equally to men and women.

The feeling of international and interracial friendship, when spread by precept and example as the policy of the state, is an important factor in the prevention of mental conflicts and complexes which are apt to arise when one national or racial group proclaims itself superior to another and raises barriers of hatred and prejudice. Encouragement of free expression for national minorities in the use of their native languages and customs gives these minority peoples a sense of security and pride which they did not have before. Since national minorities in the different parts of the Soviet Union are, under government auspices, educated in their own languages as well as in the Russian language, such problems and difficulties as occur in immigrant homes in the United States, where foreign-born parents often lose contact with their Americanized children, are avoided.

Finally there is the question of anti-religious education and propaganda. In spite of agitation and denunciation made by "religious" groups and individuals in various parts of the world against the "godless and immoral Bolshevists" there is much evidence, as indicated in the numerous plans and projects undertaken for the common welfare, that it is the atheistic Bolshevik who considers himself his brother's keeper more devoutly than many a professing religionist.

Much can be said, from the mental hygiene point of view, both for and against the value of anti-religious teachings. On the positive side of the repudiation of whatever Gods there be, there is the elimination of religious intolerance, a growth in self-reliance and an understanding of one's own powers to take the place of blind, passive submission to fate. Energies that were formerly consumed in rendering lip service to the Deity and to the glories of his handiwork are now being utilized in the improvement of environmental conditions so that the finer, more God-like nature in man may have a better chance to express itself, without the need for recourse to inhibiting doctrines such as conviction of sin and guilt, punishment, and retribution.

The "thou shalts" and the "thou shalt nots" in social living are viewed by Communists not as commandments handed down from heaven to be upheld under threat of punishment or promise of reward at the hands of a just and zealous God, but as ethical principles and habits to be developed and strengthened from early childhood through the presentation of opportunities for cooperation, service, and psychologically satisfactory forms of self-expression.

Under the Soviet system of public scientific planning and public support of necessary activities, numerous facilities have been initiated. As has been indicated in this article, many of the difficulties, which we under the American system of more or less haphazard, individualistic endeavor have had to face hitherto, have to a large degree been avoided or eradicated in Russia. As a result of the coordinated, far-reaching measures put into effect for improving the health of the people, a "marked fall in traumic cases in the U.S.S.R. compared to other countries" is even claimed by the Russian authorities.

In contemplation of the Soviet scene, one cannot help being impressed beyond words with the psychological significance of the numerous projects being carried on for the social well-being and the opportunities for enthusiastic, unselfish devotion to an ideal and to a new way of life.

There are, however, certain anti-democratic, dehumanizing factors which—to the Communist leaders conditioned perhaps by years of privation and oppression, even imprisonment or exile under the Czarist regime, and intent on building a Utopia for underprivileged workers and peasants—appear only as so many necessary evils. The endurance of poverty by the masses during the period of reconstruction may to them be only incidental; the suppression of members of former privileged groups may be justifiable; indoctrination and regimentation may be only details along the road to certain desired and desirable goals. From the psychological and truly democratic perspective, it is questionable whether any form of coercion or dictatorship is justified or ultimately wise.

Among the things that are conducive to the growth of new personality disorders, new neuroses and psychoses, and therefore limit the constructiveness of the Russian program there are: (1) Poverty and an overwhelming shortage of food, clothing, and other vital necessities, due in large measure to the fact that many persons who have the genius for productive organization, or the ability to buy and sell and distribute commodities, are branded as enemies of society and forbidden to use their initiative and to do the type of work they can do best; (2) bureaucratic ruthlessness and suppression in carrying out the collectivization program of production and distribution to replace the old, individualistic methods; (3) continued discrimination, although not as intense as in the first years after the revolution perhaps, against kulaks, traders, and other members of the former bourgeoisie and upper classes, so called; (4) a spy system and "party cleansing" procedure which en-

courages the denunciation of worker by worker and even parents by their children as a means of maintaining loyalty to the Communist cause; and (5) anti-religious propaganda carried on to estrange young people especially from the cherished religious beliefs and customs of their elders by such devices as ridicule, changing to a six-day week in order to do away with Saturdays and Sundays, and by the organization of special Communist meetings and festivals on important holy days in order to draw the people's attention away from religious observance. These negative factors, concomitants of the method of force and dictatorship, cannot be overlooked in any consideration of the Communist system.

To those who are fearful of anything that comes out of Soviet Russia, it can be said that there is much worth studying, and even emulating, in the Bolshevists' efforts and aims.

Those who despairingly and in increasing numbers today are tempted to look to Communism and the Revolution as the panacea for righting the wrongs and healing the wounds that are being inflicted in an unjust world would do well to pause a while to consider objectively and dispassionately the new inequalities and intolerances, the new sufferings and injustices that are evoked by ways of violence. No one can estimate how much anguish of body and mind and spirit might have been avoided or what achievement made possible during these nineteen years of an "Iron Age" if there had been a greater realization on the part of the Communists that the members of the "ruling classes" which they have sought to eradicate so ruthlessly are also human beings, as much molded and motivated, perchance, by the conditions of the acquisitive society in which they lived as by any innate desire to oppress their fellowmen; if the same mental hygiene principles that have been used so successfully in the U.S.S.R. in changing the attitudes and practices of the criminal had been applied to kulaks and capitalists to infuse them with the desire to utilize, in the building of a better social order, those talents and abilities which they formerly employed for the purpose of amassing private fortunes; and if, instead of denouncing and suppressing religion, the Communists had invoked the religious spirit of the Russian people and transmuted it into a greater devotion and service to all humankind.

Trumpets on New Horizons

Star of Brotherhood

Let us follow a star as the wise men of old
When the heavens proclaimed what the prophets foretold,
Till its glorious rays have illumined the world
And the banners of hatred forever are furled.

ETTA JOSEPHINE MURFEY.

Foreign Born

Their swarthy skin and voluble tongue
Are strange to our Nordic mind;
We herd them together where tenements swarm,
Away from the more refined.
We have broken their birthright of laughter and song
On the rack of industrial greed.
Have we wholly forgotten the teachings of One
Who was greater than race or creed?

LESLIE SAVAGE.

Fascists or Men?

We are so loyal to such brutal codes,
Our traps of prejudice are deftly set,
Our dynamite of ignorance explodes
In vermined trench. A strutting martinet
Can push an army off the cliff of doom
And avalanche the world itself in gloom.

Oh stumbling, human brothers, when, oh when
Will we begin to build a world of men?

LUCIA TRENT.

C'est la Guerre

Boom, boom, boom, boom!
Weaving of the monster loom;
Blood and sweat, blood and sweat—
Life and death an even bet;
Smoke and mud, smoke and mud,
Only here and there a dud;
Lose or gain, lose or gain,
Warp and woof are human pain;
Turn the screws, turn the screws,
Stretch the taut flesh till it mews;
Hear them scream, hear them scream,
Figures in a fiendish dream;
Boom, boom, boom, boom—
Voices of the lethal gloom!

DAISY ARNOLD MAUDE.

City Impression

(Pot-bellied men, and bleary-eyed,
Strutting by with a pompous pride:)

Strange—that trying not too much
Money somehow comes at their touch,
While a fragile girl with dreams to offer
Drops them slowly in the city's coffer!

MURIEL THURSTON.

A Fact

Here's an economic treat:
Who will not labor should not eat.

JACK GREENBERG.

Back to Democracy!

JOHN J. MENG

Unconstitutional expansion of governmental powers is the most serious indictment levelled against the New Deal. This claim, supported by political opponents of the administration and by others with more disinterested motives, stands first among the political issues of the hour because it involves the principle upon which rests the entire structure of the American state, a principle more fundamental than the Constitution itself. The Declaration of Independence gives this principle its classic formulation: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." Here we have the finest expression of the ideal of American democracy.

The Constitution is one of several means which the United States has used at different times to translate this ideal into practice. The governments of the Continental Congress and of the Articles of Confederation, which preceded the adoption of the present Constitution in 1789, were neither efficient nor elastic enough to meet the changing needs of a growing country. Since their time the Constitution with which we are familiar has more or less successfully satisfied the demands of American government. Not without reason has this Constitution been endowed with a reverence that has made it a thing apart, a sacred charter of individual liberty. Success in operation has given to its clauses the most powerful of sanctions—that of public acceptance and approval. Yet success, even a century and a half of success, should not absolve the Constitution from unprejudiced examination as to its present actual merits as a framework of democratic government.

The test to be applied in any such examination is rightly the test of the Declaration of Independence. Does the Constitution as enforced at the present moment guarantee the basic liberties idealistically outlined in the Declaration? Does it guarantee true democracy? The American ideal of democracy is high, higher than has ever been attained by the Government of the United States or by any other government, but it loses none of its validity by reason of that fact. Human ideals are seldom fully achieved, but they are the driving forces behind human progress. It is impossible to secure absolute equality of rights to all citizens of a modern state, yet it is not too much to demand that successful democracy secure these rights to as great a number of citizens as possible. If the Constitution of the United States fails to do this, there is necessary a re-interpretation of that document in the light of present conditions.

It is common knowledge that the Constitution of 1936 is not the Constitution of 1789. It has been altered in a variety of ways, so that its authors would find in the United States today a very different system of government than that which they established in 1789. This is as it should be. The passing years have brought changed conditions and have presented new problems to government. The result has been a Constitution deliberately altered by amendment and expanded by interpretation for the purpose of meeting these changed conditions and solving these new problems. The men who wrote the Constitution foresaw this need and placed among its clauses regulations for future amendment. It was their intention, as evidenced in the Preamble, to retain as the guiding principle of this development the American democratic ideal. By no stretch of the imagination can the Constitution of the United States ever serve as the framework of any other than a democratic type of government, unless its terms be perverted and its interpretation faulty.

It is no attack upon the Constitution to question whether American democracy is today fact or fancy. It is no attack upon the Constitution to question whether the liberties of the majority are protected from the attacks of the few. A plea for re-interpretation of the Constitution on these grounds may be an attack upon the present interpretation of that document, or a demand for deliberate legal alterations in its clauses, but it cannot be construed as a subversive move against the Constitution itself. Many important changes in American government have been effected by amendment and re-interpretation. The levying of an income tax, and direct election of senators were unconstitutional until recent years. The Supreme Court has not hesitated on several occasions to reverse its own decisions and enunciate a re-interpretation of specific clauses in the Constitution. Should the Constitution as it operates today be found inconsistent with the permanently accepted ideal of American democracy, let that Constitution be amended and re-interpreted until it once more fulfills the purpose for which it was written, until it once more secures the blessings of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness to the greatest number of our citizens.

Modern developments in almost every field of human endeavor have placed in the hands of minority groups power to an extent undreamed of when the Constitution of the United States was drafted. There are few who will deny that the Constitution has failed in many instances to make effective the individual rights which it guarantees. If this were not true, we would not be faced with the problems that confront us today. The Constitution has not protected Americans from being deprived of their property without due process of law when it has allowed certain financial interests to foist on the American people under false pretenses bond issues of questionable value. It has not guaranteed the right to life when it has permitted great industrial interests to deny a living wage to masses of American citizens. It has failed to assure the freedom of the press and freedom of speech when it has suffered the channels of public information to fall into the hands of dominant groups who dictate at will the public thought of the nation. Noble efforts have been made to restrict the growing control of American life by minority groups. Some of these efforts have been partially successful, but others have demonstrated conclusively that the Constitution of today affords no protection against minority control of many phases of our individual existences.

Projects for the nationalization of basic public utilities are attacked as unconstitutional, on the grounds that such projects infringe upon the constitutional rights of private business. Governmental regulation of

industries, in the fields of price-fixing, hours of labor, wage scales, production levels and other matters has been declared unconstitutional interference with the liberty of individual enterprise. For the sake of discussion, grant that these claims of unconstitutionality are valid. Is that sufficient reason to reject without a hearing projects of this type? An increase in the extent of governmental control does not necessarily mean less individual liberty. It may mean less freedom from restraint for certain vested interests, and more personal liberty for the vast majority of citizens. Democracy does not become a dead-letter when matters of public interest and national welfare are brought under public control. On the contrary, by such expansion democracy may be re-vivified and given a deeper meaning for the average man. If a fair and unbiased hearing is given to proposals of this kind, and if it is discovered that they satisfactorily serve the interests of the commonweal, we may still be faced with the embarrassing fact that they are unconstitutional according to our present understanding of the Constitution. Where lies the way out of this impasse? Must we surrender the welfare of the majority to the interests of the minority? If we do that we surrender the essence of American democracy. On the other hand, does acceptance of these projects involve the scrapping of the Constitution? It does not. But it may necessitate a re-interpretation of that document, and possibly sweeping legal alterations in its clauses.

Academic discussion of these problems will not make such re-interpretation or alteration possible. The problem is one of practical politics, for these questions affect intimately the life of each one of us individually. A necessary pre-requisite of positive action is a general understanding of the nature of the Constitution itself. There must be destroyed that false conception of the Constitution which considers it a document to be amended only on rare occasions, and interpreted only with the utmost conservatism. Let it be recognized for what it is, for what its authors intended it to be, the charter of our personal liberties, constantly growing and expanding. As American citizens, it is our duty to shape carefully that growth and development, in order that it follow always the unvarying ideal of democratic government enunciated in 1776. When, through the activities of minority groups and lack of interest on the part of the majority, it develops along lines contrary to our fundamental political principle, it is our duty to halt that misdirected development and to turn it back into its proper channel by every legal means within our power. To do this today may require a sharp break with the constitutional development of the last few decades, but it is our duty to make that break in the name of American democracy.

Present Trend in World Politics

TARAKNATH DAS

The Italo-Ethiopian war is over and Italy has annexed Abyssinia to the newly-proclaimed Roman Empire. Signor Mussolini is not apt to change the decision under any circumstances. This is evident from his attitude towards the last League Council meeting from which he ordered Baron Aloisi to be absent. The League of Nations is impotent to take any vigorous action against Italy, therefore it has adjourned until June 16, with a declaration of continuance of economic sanctions. However, there are evidences of a breach of unanimity among the League members supporting sanctions. By the 16th of June, France's new Socialist Government will be able to determine its policy towards Italy, and Great Britain will have a better idea concerning Germany's attitude toward the British questionnaire regarding the latter's colonial ambitions, etc. Britain cannot take the initiative to give up sanctions against Italy, therefore she is anxious to have France bear the responsibility of giving up sanctions, if it is to be done at all.

French foreign policy under the Socialist Government will be largely determined by the Russian attitude. French Socialists are anti-Fascist, therefore anti-Mussolini. But all French Socialists are supporters of French colonial empire. Therefore, French Socialists may support Italy, provided they find Russia will be willing to give support to such a policy.

It is well known that the principal concerns of Russia are Germany and Japan, because the Russians fear German expansion in the Ukraine and the Baltic region, and they are afraid of Japanese expansion in Mongolia affecting the Russian position in the Far East. Under these circumstances, Russia wants a united front against Germany in which Italy is to be included. At the same time, Russia, apparently in agreement with France and Britain, has adopted a policy of naval expansion which will counteract German naval power in the Baltic and the North Sea, and Japanese naval power in the Pacific. This is the Russian reply to the much-talked of German-Japanese alliance. Abyssinian independence does not concern Soviet Russia, Republican France, and Imperial Britain at all. Their love for the poor Abyssinians is a myth and pretext to serve their own interests.

Under normal conditions, the future developments will lead to Anglo-Russian-French-Italian understanding which will affect Germany and Japan adversely. If this materializes, the result will be that Italian bonds will go up and possibly both Paris and London bankers will extend aid to Rome.

Against this possibility, there is the current of British opposition, from one section, to Italy at any cost. For these reasons, steps are being taken to isolate Italy in the Mediterranean, with the support of France, Turkey, Greece, and Jugo-Slavia, and by trying to keep Germany apart from Italy by making further concessions to Germany. However, Russian diplomacy will oppose such a policy, and will use full Franco-Russian pressure against an Anglo-German understanding, and Britain will have to choose between Franco-Russian support and German aid.

Recent developments in Austria are of great importance for the future of Europe. It seems that the ultimate solution of the Austrian chaos will be determined by the developments of German and Italian policies. If Austria is divided by two factions, as it is today, one being supported by Germany and the other by Italy, it may lead to a conflict between Germany and Italy, in which case Italy will be really fighting the war of France and Russia against Germany, and will receive support from France and Russia. But if Germany decides to concede some of the Italian aspirations

in the Danubian region and comes to an understanding with Signor Mussolini, and if Italy be pressed hard with sanctions, then there may arise an Italo-German alliance, a modified form of Triple Alliance of the past —Germany, Italy and Austro-Hungary, etc.—and it will be opposed by Anglo-French-Russian understanding. In such an eventuality, Japan will be free to choose between one of these combinations or remain neutral and expand in Asia.

What part will the United States play in this game? Her role will be decisive. The Anglo-French-Russian group are doing their best to get American backing, and Mr. Baldwin's recent statement regarding the United States' support being needed for peace through the League of Nations, and Mr. Blum's desire to re-open the debt question, are important evidences. It is believed that both France and England will re-open the debt question to invalidate the Johnson Act and to have the American money-market again open to them for their war preparations, etc. America should make a debt settlement with European nations, but must not be tied with European politics in such a fashion as to be a party to any European conflict. Her policy should be a peace policy.

British and Russian statesmen feel that they will be able to induce the United States to support them if they follow anti-Japanese naval policy, and there is every indication that there may develop a concerted action between the United States, Britain, and Russia against Japan, which will not further the cause of peace. America has nothing to gain by following Anglo-Russian policy against Japan because it may involve the United States in a war with Japan, in which case America's commercial competitors will benefit from it.

The Cure of Disillusionment

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

(Concluded)

(3) So disillusionment does not touch our world. It is ourselves that fail. *We* are the disappointment—the illusion. But—if we cannot trust ourselves, what faith have we? Is not this the most disastrous collapse of all—the justification of all cynicism and all despair? What is the cure of disillusionment if our souls are inadequate to their task?

It is in consideration of this question that we come to the fundamental problem of disillusionment. We are talking now about our inner selves, our souls—are they adequate to the vicissitudes of life? To this final inquiry, I want to answer three things:

(a) First, these souls of ours are the one part of this great universe which lies wholly within the range of our control. There are forces of the cosmos—gravitation, atomic energy, radio-activity—which we can never hope to master. There are natural phenomena, right here upon this planet, from hurricanes upon the sea to earthquakes upon the land, which must work havoc to the end. In the same way, there are social forces, the released energies of masses of men and women, which must sweep like storms unbridled through the sky. I am persuaded that the Great War of 1914, like a terrific explosion, let loose into our world chaotic forces of disruption, which surpass the capacity of any age to recapture and subdue. But these are all without ourselves and thus beyond. Inside our lives there is an area which is our own—this personality which we are, and which we can make to be what we will. These souls of ours lie within our grasp, to be moulded, like the sculptor's clay, to the fashion of the master's art. It is true that we may have no genius, and thus ascend no Alpine heights of vision and attainment. But the humblest of us have the raw materials of virtue—those qualities of patience, courage, and idealism which comprise the basic elements of character. It is true that we may fail, as this contemporary generation has failed, to understand the conditions of human progress, and thus, through ignorance or neglect, be overwhelmed in one vast cataclysm of disaster. But the soul may ever learn, and recover, and begin anew. The will to live is infinite, and thus unconquerable. The world may collapse, but not ourselves if we would not have it so. What Longfellow called, in simple phrase, "a heart for any fate," is the answer to disillusionment, and the guarantee of triumph over all defeat.

I recall, as an instance of the unconquerable nature of the soul, the deathless story of Captain Robert Scott and his companions who perished together in their expedition to the South Pole in 1912. You know something of that story—how, from the beginning, everything seemed to go wrong. The plan for pony transport proved to be unworkable, and left the men with no choice but to drag their own sledges across the ice. The conditions of cold and storm which they encountered were unprecedented, hopelessly delaying their travel and wearing down their strength. Worst of all was the discovery, when they reached the Pole after the most exhausting exertions, that they had been anticipated. Amundsen had arrived before them. Here was excuse for disillusionment! You can feel it creeping into the minds of these men as you read Captain Scott's diary in those days when they first turned back upon their tracks. But not for long! These disappointments belonged to the outer world of snow and ice, and not to the inner world of spirit. They had long since measured themselves even against such tragedies as this, and so took heart again. The heroic epic of the return from the Pole, when storms overwhelmed them, and food failed, and strength grew weak, can never be forgotten. Five feeble men pitted against the fierce fury of the Antarctic! In those last hours, when, caught at last, they waited for the end, all disillusionment had gone, all thought of defeat and death. Their souls were as brave as ever, their minds as clear, their hearts as pure. They were still glad that they had come, though they could not return, and still sure that they were not dying in vain. It was all worthwhile, that, in the paths of the spirit which they had trod, others might follow to the end of time. Do you remember that last letter of farewell which Robert Scott wrote to his friend, James Matthew Barrie, as he lay there with his companions in the storm and cold, knowing, as they knew, that the end was close at hand? Let me remind you of what he wrote with his scrawling pencil clutched in his frozen fingers by the light of his oil lamp:

"We are very near the end, but have not and will not lose our good cheer. We have four days of storm,—and nowhere's food or fuel. But it would do your

heart good to be in our tent, to hear our songs and the cheery conversation."

(b) Yes, these souls of ours are our own, and can be rescued from despair. Which brings me to my second point—that our souls are never so brave as in the moment of defeat, when they are needed most! It is easy to go to pieces when there is no strain upon attention, no hazard of safety, and therefore no challenge to devotion. An army becomes demoralized not in the front-line trenches, in the hour of battle, but in camp, in the lazy days, when the enemy is far away. The very security brings relaxation and breeds corruption. Little by little the men deteriorate in physique and spirit. Not even the rigors of daily drill can maintain their fibre. That was the matter with us in the days before the War. Everything was so easy and going so well, the solution of our problems seemed so simple, the pace of our progress so swift and sure, that we lapsed, like the Lotus-Eaters, into the inertia which produced decay. That was the matter with us, also, in the days after the War. We had done so much, or thought we had done so much, that we went mad with exultation, and plunged into such an orgy of dissipation as might well have wrecked us for good and all. It was only during the War, when the hazard of life and death lay upon militarists and pacifists alike, that we experienced a spiritual tension which bound our lives to some measure of idealism. And so it is, or may be, in this hour of bitter struggle! The very desperateness of our situation is uncovering resources of patience and courage which we did not know we had. Every one of us is suffering, or in danger, and every one of us, therefore, is challenged to save the day. For the first time, perhaps, in all our lives, we feel ourselves directly and personally involved in a struggle of world-wide dimensions and significance, and thus under orders, so to speak, to do our part. This is the reason why, in these direful days, there has been no moral collapse to match our alarming material collapse. On the contrary, out of the very misery of unemployment and relief, there has sprung a determination and vision of idealism which give something like a promise that this old world shall be made new again. Disillusionment—yes! We were deceived in our society, and more particularly in ourselves. But disappointment, despair—never! The very crisis of the times has made us equal to the times. We refuse to agree that "a lost battle means a lost war."

In the spring of 1918, the Germans under Von Ludendorff in France began their tremendous offensive against the Allies. Fought on a front of 50 miles, with an army of 106 divisions, this was the most overwhelming attack ever known in the history of war. For three weeks the fight went on, with the French and English slowly but steadily giving ground. One whole army, under General Gough, was destroyed, and the rest of the English force beaten and broken. At last, on the 11th of April, came the crisis. Further retreat meant the loss of the entire front, and probably the loss of the war. It was at this awful moment that Earl Haig, commander-in-chief of all the English armies in France, issued his famous Order to his soldiers, in which he said:

"There is no other course open to us but to fight it out! Every position must be held to the last man: there must be no retirement. With our backs to the wall, and believing in the justice of our cause, each one of us must fight on to the end. The safety of our homes and the freedom of mankind alike depend upon the conduct of each one of us at this critical moment."

It is the moral appeal, not the political analysis, of this Order which is sublime. In response to their Marshal's call, tired and broken troops rose to prodigies of valor. It was when all was needed that all was given—as it is being given today! Around us are the havoc and the horror of the greatest economic debacle in history. To each of us is committed the charge of holding the last position, lest all be lost. In such a crisis there can be no despair, least of all any fear. There can be only gladness that we are needful to a noble cause. We must feel the happiness of Wordsworth's "Happy Warrior,"

> Who, with a toward or untoward lot,
> Prosperous or adverse, to his wish or not,
> Plays, in the many games of life, that one
> Where what he most doth value must be won;

who, if he win,

> Looks forward, persevering to the last,
> From well to better, daily self-surpast;

and, if he lose,

> Finds comfort in himself and in his cause,
> And while the mortal mist is gathering, draws
> His breath in confidence of Heaven's applause.

(c) This reference to "Heaven's applause" brings me to my third and last point about the soul of man. I refer to the fact that we are not living alone in this great universe, nor fighting alone. With us are our kinsmen and friends and comrades, and the great host of mankind—which is much! But more than this is the encompassing spirit of the whole, the life of our life and soul of all our being, which we call God.

Just what is my thought of God I find it increasingly difficult to say. As I grow older, and I trust deeper in thought, I find more and more unsatisfactory all ideas and even ideals of God. Nothing is adequate, as no picture is adequate of sky and sea. But more surely than ever today do I believe three things—first, that there is a Life at the heart of nature and of man which makes them one; second, that this Life in man becomes a moral force, which makes righteousness as definite a power as gravitation; and, third, that this Life, now become a moral spiritual force, works with man in all his endeavor after right, as most certainly it works against him in all his endeavor after wrong. It is my faith, in other words, that this universe is not merely a material but also a moral universe. If we are disillusioned, it is not because we have lost our fight, or are engaged in a struggle which we cannot win. Rather is it because we have unwittingly, or wickedly, set ourselves against the moral law, and have sought to bend the cosmos to our selfish purposes. Of course we have failed, as we deserved to fail, in such base enterprise. But this does not mean that we shall fail if we work with, and not against, the will of Heaven. On the contrary, God waits to help us, and to guide us, and to give us victory. But *we* must come to him, not he to us. It is from this standpoint that disillusionment is but a measure of our spiritual recalcitrance—our failure to mobilize our forces on the side of right. The fault, once more, is in ourselves. The universe is with us, if we will have it so. And that means victory!

Again I turn to William Wordsworth for an expression of final truth upon this theme. In his great poem, "The Excursion," he devotes one entire canto, or book—the third—to what he calls "Despondency," which is another name for disillusionment. Wordsworth in his youth had undergone such an experience of disillusionment as has come to few men in modern times, and this experience had led to a despondency which weighed down his soul for years. Then, in the fourth book of his poem, he writes of "Despondency

Corrected." It is in this connection that he set down one of the most famous passages in all English literature:

One adequate support
For the calamities of mortal life
Exists—one only; an assured belief
That the procession of our fate, however
Sad or disturbed, is ordered by a Being—
Whose everlasting purposes embrace
All accidents, converting them to good.
The darts of anguish fix not where the seat
Of suffering hath been thoroughly fortified
By acquiescence in the Will supreme
For time and for eternity; by faith,
Faith absolute in God, including hope,
And the defense that lies in boundless love
Of his perfections; with habitual dread
Of aught, unworthily conceived, endured
Impatiently, ill-done or left undone,
To the dishonor of his holy name.
Soul of our souls, and safeguard of the world!
Sustain, thou only canst, the sick of heart;
Restore their languid spirits, and recall
Their lost affections unto thee and thine.

Such, as I see it, is the cure of disillusionment! It begins with the realization that disillusionment clears away delusions and deceptions which have snared our vision, and thus restores us to reality. It ends with the understanding that our souls are our own, to be made brave and patient if we will, especially in the hour of trial, and to be enlisted in God's cause and therewith to receive his help. In between lies the assurance that disillusionment does not impair nor even touch the ideals which make life worth the living, but, by correcting our misconception of these ideals, clarifies and glorifies them all anew.

What we need, in our cure of disillusionment, is to be disillusioned of disillusionment. We have been confused by what this strange word seems to mean, and thus deceived. What most of us have in our minds, as we pursue the way of life, is a concatenation of illusions, misconceptions, superstitions. We cling to false hopes and cherish baseless faiths. Like children we cry out for the moon, and think we are going to get it. Then disillusionment comes, to wreck our world, and thus wake us from our idle fantasies and acquaint us with truth again. At first this truth, thus rediscovered, seems grim and terrible. But slowly, as our vision clears and our thought deepens and widens over life, it becomes good and even beautiful. For truth, as Gandhi is never tired of telling us, is God—and God is truth.

In Bunyan's immortal *Pilgrim's Progress,* the author tells us how his hero sets forth upon his journey to the Celestial City. All is confidence and gladness in his heart as he dreams of that happy place where he "shall be with seraphim and cherubim, creatures that will dazzle your eyes to look on them." But soon the Pilgrim is borne down by the heavy burden on his back—the burden of his own frailties and sins—and he falls suddenly into a bog. "The name of the slough was Despond,—and Christian, because of the burden that was on his back, began to sink in the mire." At last came one named Help who "gave him his hand, and bid him go on his way." Then the Pilgrim "stepped to him that plucked him out," and asked why this place was not mended, that poor travelers to the Celestial City "might go thither with more security." And he said, "This miry slough is such a place as cannot be mended, . . . and therefore it is called the Slough of Despond; for still . . . there arise . . . many fears and doubts and discouraging apprehensions, which all of them get together, and settle in this place; and this is the reason of the badness of this ground." But, he continued, "there are . . certain good and substantial steps, placed even through the very midst of this slough." Only "men, through the dizziness of their heads, step beside, and then are bemired.—*Notwithstanding, the steps are there.*"

The Study Table

The Essential Campaign Issue

CONCERNING GOVERNMENT BENEFITS. *By Jacob Baker. New York: Vanguard Press. $1.50.*

The hope of democracy in this country lies in the fact that the vast majority of the American people will vote for the public good when the essential issue and the pertinent facts with regard to it have been fairly presented to them. The essential issue and the pertinent facts with regard to the entrance of America into the Spanish War and into the World War were not revealed to the American people by the presidents in power at these crises—although after the event Woodrow Wilson acknowledged the economic roots of all wars and the economic reasons for our entrance into the World War.

Fortunately, in the present crisis in the affairs of the American people they may know the essential issue and chief facts pertinent to it by reading the important volume under review. Because it deals with governmental benefits the book has a special importance at the present moment when Congress is deciding the question of what governmental benefits are to be provided for the unemployed next year; and by virtue of the precedents established now, since it is very difficult for the government to withdraw benefits once granted, what governmental benefits will be provided for the unemployed for many years to come. The book gains still further importance from the fact that it is written by an assistant administrator of the Works Progress Administration. It would seem that both Republican and Democratic orators during the coming campaign would have to make their peace with the facts stated or suggested by this book; and that, if they do so, the people will be enabled to vote upon the essential issue now before our country, and that democracy will be fully vindicated.

The essential thesis of the book is that the unemployed (whether supported by the government in idleness or at substandard wages to perform essential social services) are not the only recipients of special government benefits, the proper objects of disapproval on the part of the employed and of the leisure class, who believe that they earn their living without aid of the government. No, we are forced to the conclusion that our best families, as well as the unemployed, survive because they are the recipients of governmental benefits—such as (1) the various tariffs, (2) artificially raised agri-

cultural prices, (3) tax-exempt religion and (4) tax-exempt and tax-supported education, (5) veteran bonuses—quite in excess of the bond, (6) second-class mail rates for all publications, (7) the refuge of bankruptcy laws, (8) public utility franchises often contrary to the public interest, and (9) exorbitant prices for military supplies. And to this list of benefits to special interests, alluded to by our author, one is forced to add the following governmental actions: (10) mail subsidies, (11) politically secured contracts of all sorts, (12) the right of banks to create credits worth billions of dollars for the benefit of bankers, (13) the loan by the government of millions of dollars to industry and business which have not been repaid, (14) the borrowing of billions of dollars by the government from banks instead of increasing taxes to pay for current expenses, (15) the levying of the taxes of the nation chiefly upon the poverty of the poor instead of upon the wealth of the rich, (16) the ruthless and unsocial exploitation of the natural resources and farms of the nation by private interests because of governmental protection, (17) the use of the police and judicial power of the government to save millions of dollars yearly (directly and indirectly) for organized employers in their natural competition with workers striving to organize for better wages, and (18) the denial of the Constitutional right of the people freely to consider the means by which governmental benefits can be equitably distributed.

When the recipients of such governmental benefits object to the extension of benefits to the unemployed, on the ground that the present recipients believe in self-reliance, we must conclude that they are laboring under a misunderstanding of the entire situation. And when they object to standard wages and security for all those who perform a necessary social service because, as they claim, they believe the government should "stay out of business," they really object because they wish to get all the governmental benefits for their own businesses.

With regard to the general principle upon which governmental benefits ought to be distributed instead of upon the basis of the present haphazard or pressure methods, Mr. Baker argues in a quite objective manner which should win the approval of all classes of our people. He insists that governmental benefits should be distributed so as to insure the greatest social stability, and, I would add, social responsibility and efficiency. Mr. Baker writes: "If the Government is clever, rich, and efficient enough to distribute benefits to everybody there will be no disgruntled folk who want to do away with the government."

Thus Mr. Baker makes subtly untenable the position of those who object, on the ground of high social welfare, to the thought of governmental benefits for other people than themselves. He does much toward rescuing the question of governmental benefits from the field of contending self-interests to the stronghold of intelligent and disinterested social planning for the good of all the people. And if the plan for the distribution of governmental benefits among the American people raises their standard of living sufficiently to eliminate the necessity for the sale of our surpluses to foreign countries (except for the immediate payment in return of their products which we need), the essential cause of our entanglement in foreign wars will be eliminated. Then the terror which now menaces our night-watches will dissipate into the innocence of a new day.

GEORGE Y. RUSK

Abundance for All

REPORT OF THE NATIONAL SURVEY OF POTENTIAL PRODUCT CAPACITY. 358 pp. *By Harold Loeb and Associates. New York: New York City Housing Authority.* $2.50.

This is the supplementary volume to *The Chart of Plenty,* reviewed in UNITY, February 17, 1936. It is indispensable for those who want proof for the startling conclusions of *The Chart of Plenty.* Our readers may recall that the researches of the N. S. P. P. C. showed that if we ran our industrial and farm plant for use rather than for profit, we could supply every single family in the United States with the equivalent in goods and services of $4,370 worth per year in terms of the 1929 dollar; and that in the five years from 1929 to 1933 inclusive, we did not produce $287,000,000,000 (287 billion dollars) worth of goods and services that our people sorely needed. Such is capitalism's folly!

Here is the documentary and statistical proof for the figures from which these deductions were made.

Director Loeb and his associates give all the details for agriculture, lumber, minerals, fuels, chemicals, textiles and clothing, manufacturing, construction, printing and publishing, food processing, transportation, health, education, recreation, and even foreign trade.

Of great value are the many tables and lists. On page 21 is a table of comparison between actual production in 1929 of various foodstuffs with the needs of a "Liberal Diet." We produced more flour, potatoes, beans, peas, nuts, fats (other than butter), pork, and fish than we needed. We failed to produce enough milk, butter, all other vegetables (other than beans and peas), fresh fruits, sugar, beef, lamb, mutton, veal, poultry, and eggs. And in each case the amounts of excess or deficiency are given.

Read this volume and never again rail against the idea of a "planned economy" that can give abundance to all.

GEORGE MAYCHIN STOCKDALE

Literary Criticism of American Life

LITERATURE AND AMERICAN LIFE. *By Percy H. Boynton. 934 pp. New York: Ginn and Company. 1936. $4.00.*

This comprehensive volume of 934 pages is written "for students of American Literature." It is divided conveniently into three main sections: the early period, the middle years, and the recent past. The author, who is the well-known professor of English at the University of Chicago, and the delightful radio commentator on new books, has told the story of American life without "forcing a thesis."

One of the many excellencies of this book is the fact that the author at the outset recognizes that literature and history cannot be separated from religion. In his preface he correctly observes: "The course of

thought in America can be traced through its relation, near or remote, to religious and ethical controls. It is a line that passes through the dominance of religious faith and ethical precept in the seventeenth century, the challenge to the altar by the shop till and the flag in the eighteenth century, the challenge of the nineteenth century to the flag by the treasure vault and the machines it served, the twentieth century breakdown of the money-changers after their capture of flag and machine and altar." That promises an interesting appraisal of American life.

First we have Puritanism in the New England colonies expressing a long religious heritage with its "pattern of life." In the southern colony the English Cavaliers at Jamestown set another pattern. But each pattern bred dissenters and out of it all came Americanism. The times, however, had to wait for Franklin for a really eminent American "who was an apostate from Puritanism." From here on, in order not to force the thesis, the religious background of American letters is not systematically worked out. Puritanism, for example, receives no such trenchant analysis as that recently given by Santayana. Nor does the important contribution of Quakerism, from the time of John Woolman's death-thrust at slavery, receive adequate treatment. Theodore Parker is dismissed as an unorthodox Unitarian who founded a people's church. But the Social Gospel, which in a sense goes back to Parker and which has had such a tremendous influence on American life, is entirely ignored. Another American adventure that is ignored is the rise and development of the whole missionary enterprise. American writers such as Mark Twain, Herman Melville, and numerous others, not to mention the *North American Review* and *Atlantic Monthly*, concerned themselves with this movement. Professor Boynton is to be thanked for calling our attention to the fact that a book is greatly needed giving in detail the religious background of American life, but in the present volume he has not supplied it. Nor was it his purpose.

The author is primarily interested in literary criticism as it touches American life, and here he is at his best. But, even here, his treatment of Whittier, for example, is scarcely adequate, due to the fact that Professor Boynton fails to see in him the great crusader for a cause. Whittier can be understood only in the light of the experience of a Hebrew prophet. And this makes him all the more important for the understanding of America's development. In the last chapter entitled "Points of View," Professor Boynton returns to his original theme of "the money changers after their capture of flag and machine and altar." America is now in the midst of bewildered experiment, but the situation is by no means hopeless. "The horn of plenty and what it meant to the 1890's was the last expression of an old order of belief and behavior." In spite, however, of this chaos the American people have virility and youth. "What the revolutions of the eighteenth century began, the world confusion of the twentieth century is following up." But the future has a Utopian assurance in the fact that "America has been forced back on the finer realities that money cannot buy, learning through duress what prosperity could never teach."

CHARLES ARTHUR HAWLEY.

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The Field

(*Continued from page* 142)

No matter how willing the sacrifice, is the mere fact that a life was given at Bull Run or in Belleau Wood sufficient to earn a man's way into the list of heroes? Does it make no difference whether the sacrifice be constructive and creative, for civilization and growth, or simply paid in war's waste which is the greatest that man's folly has conceived?

We think it does. We believe that even sacrifice is a thing which takes its glory from its purpose. Our hatred of war is not based solely on its destruction of human life and happiness. We hate and despise it all the more because it wastes so much that is fine and promising of human idealism, because it takes the spirit of sacrifice in men and throws it away, impersonally, in a murderous and *theatrical* death that fails to accomplish anything but new horrors and heavier burdens. We may agree with Carlyle that "Hero worship . . . will forever exist universally among mankind," but we cannot attach heroism to everything for which it is claimed.

Is it "wishful thinking" to believe that men everywhere are coming to a more critical view of heroes? I think not. The events of our time are on our side, in robbing war and military tragedy of its mask of glory. What there may once have been of personal heroism, skill and courage, in the arts of war, is now almost lost in its scientific mechanism. It was always a misnomer to call war an "art" but now it is an obvious absurdity. The very instinct for survival, as war's destruction becomes threatening on an ever-widening scale, at last turns the common sense of men toward the more truly dramatic, even if less theatrical, glory of the heroes of peace and social construction.

Robert Briffault, whose French realism has led him to an estimate of our age which is only discounted by those who have not eyes to see, has accused us: "We have been quick at suppressing literature, slow at suppressing war; zealous in the abolition of obscene postal cards, lukewarm in the suppression of obscene slums; active in pulling down white slavery, apathetic in pulling down wage slavery; alert in preventing vice, slothful in preventing starvation."

If we have confidence, and surely we do, that the sacrifices of such heroes of peace and social progress as we remember here today are sacrifices which bear good fruit; that heroes of this order are the true builders of civilization—then let us also look about us bravely to see wherein we can pay them the greatest tribute in our power, which is to accept their gains, protect them from the forces of reaction and greed, and press them forward to greater advance.

The fortunes of our social destiny are in this year precariously balanced. Cultural confusion, economic crisis, and international tension are world-wide. Heroes of the mind and spirit are needed —great souls who can remain faithful to the heroes of the past by waging determined opposition to the self-seeking forces that threaten us all. Greed and the lust for power make themselves felt; sometimes in subtle and hidden ways, sometimes flagrant and awful. There are those who give expression to the spiritual wickedness in high places, and their denial of the heroes we honor is helped by our own indifference.

We shall do well to remember that belief in progress is sometimes childish. There is progress, indeed, but it is realized only through our exercise of the will to greater glories. The old liberal myth of progress as a mechanical process of history has at last been exploded for good and all. We dare not allow these heroes' efforts to be lost, by putting a blind dependence in social progress. Even the Communists, whose evangelical fervor is not without its sacrifices also, have come to a humbler use of their doctrines of "inevitability." In the face of reaction and fear on every side, we do well to speak more often about will and less about "must."

As Halford Luccock says, "The result depends on effort as well as the stars. There is not only the reality of entrenched and expanding Fascism; there are also the real alternatives of chaos and barbarism." We have no moral right to accept as a matter of course the sacrifices of heroes in the history of social reconstruction. Our privilege of sharing in their gains carries with it the duty of conserving our heritage and of adding to its sum.

Overshadowing the economic and political struggles of our own day is the ultimate goal of human aspiration that ties us closely to the heroes of the past. And that is the historic struggle for human liberty which shall be real and not merely a phrase.

Poets Pledge Themselves to Peace

The poets have organized for peace. A campaign to enlist poets' opposition to international war is the first move of the first organization of the poets of all the West, the Western Poetry League, which is now circulating a Poets' Peace Pledge.

"Believing that international peace is the prerequisite of the flowering of all worthy arts, the Western Poetry League has selected as its first and constant undertaking a campaign to enlist the dedication of poets to opposition to war and its causes and to furtherance of world brotherhood,"

states an editorial in the current issue of *Horizons*, official organ of the League and the only all-Western, all-poetry magazine, published at 935 Muirfield Road, Los Angeles, California. "In pursuance of this campaign, it is now securing the signatures of poets throughout the West on the Poets' Peace Pledge." The pledge reads as follows:

"I hereby pledge myself not to write any poems inciting to international war or glorifying war in any way but on the contrary to endeavor to make my poetry, through the unifying and purifying nature of poetry itself, foster brotherhood."

The Western Poetry League is the first and only organization of poets and poetry-lovers to conduct any peace campaign and *Horizons* is the only poetry periodical dedicated to peace, but already signed pledges have begun to pour in to this newly-formed body's headquarters, according to its educational directors: Lucia Trent and Ralph Cheyney. On the board of advisors is Dr. E. Guy Talbott, Western Secretary of the National Council for the Prevention of War. All poets are invited to write for pledges. Apply to the Western Poetry League, 935 Muirfield Road, Los Angeles.

L. T.